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THE EPIC OF THE GERMAN UNDERGROUND

By Alexander B. Maley

Early in the afternoon of July 20, 1944, Colonel Klaus von Stauffenberg walked into a German staff headquarters building behind the Eastern Front, carrying a bulging brief case in which a carefully muffled time bomb was ticking toward its deadline. Casually he placed the brief case under a table on which was spread a large-scale military map placed there by the direction and for the convenience of Adolf Hitler.

When the Führer entered there were no formalities and, as customary, discussion began immediately. Standing by the map, Count Stauffenberg surreptitiously pushed the brief case toward Hitler with his foot and then, in answer to a pre-arranged official telephone message, apologetically left the room. On hearing the bomb explode, he hurried to the nearby airfield where a fast plane was in readiness to fly him to Berlin.

There the leaders of the conspiracy had everything in readiness to stage an anti-Nazi coup d'état. Five minutes after Stauffenberg reported that the assassination had taken place, the wires were humming with orders to selected army leaders. In faraway Paris, General von Stülpnagel arrested the entire S.S. staff at their headquarters in Avenue Foch. Throughout Germany, civilian resistance leaders moved to assume control.

But Hitler was not dead. Though the explosion killed several officers, the Führer himself was only knocked flat, suffering partial paralysis and a temporary concussion. The resulting confusion gave the conspirators too little time. In many cities local S.S. and Gestapo headquarters were informed of the failure of the plot before their opponents knew of its assumed success. Before nightfall Stauffenberg was arrested and shot in Berlin. Radio stations remained for the most part in Nazi hands and Goebbels used them cleverly. A stooge for Hitler went on the air to ridicule and minimize the "foolish joke" of the plotters. That night the rank and file of the resistance movement knew only that the end of years of planning had been disastrous failure.

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Actually, it was proximity to success which cost the lives of many of the leaders. The trails had been made all too clear for the Gestapo manhunt which immediately swung into action. Generals von Witzleben, von Brockdorf and others were seized and executed. Generals Beck and von Kluge committed suicide. Deeply implicated by his actions in Paris, General von Stülpnagel hurried to Verdun, where he had fought as a young officer, and there shot himself. Blinded, but by some miracle not killed, he was for some days tortured by Himmler's men in the effort to identify accomplices.

With the military leaders obliterated, the destruction of the civilian underground began. Protestant and Catholic clergy, employers and former trade-union leaders, university professors and students, civil servants and members of the nobility were rounded up in batches -- shot, hung or herded into concentration camps together with their families. The number liquidated will never be exactly known, but 20,000 is a conservative estimate. When the concentration camps were finally opened, and advertised as proof of German bestiality, Americans were not told that many of the miserable victims were heroic German men and women who had given their all to overthrow the Nazis.

None can say how much the German military resistance was weakened, and the war shortened, by this desperate anti-Nazi rising. Certainly many an American boy who would otherwise be buried in Europe is alive today because of the Germans who struck from behind the battle lines. The OWI explained to Americans that the attempted revolution was merely a plot on the part of some Junker generals who knew the war was lost and wished to save the General Staff intact for World War III. Now it would seem time for a more judicious appraisal of facts which cannot be kept concealed forever.

II

The origins of the tragic events described above trace to the start of the Hitler régime, when the Social Democrats and other parties dissolved by the Nazis decided to maintain a secret information service for their exiled leaders. While the Underground was civilian in origin, a number of army officers, distrustful of Hitler's purposes, and realizing Germany's vulnerability in war, soon began to associate themselves with its work. They were welcomed by the civilian groups, for it was realized from the outset that no

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revolt against a totalitarian government can succeed without help from the armed forces. So, as early as 1933, a regular liaison with army leaders was established. It was under the direction of Wilhelm Leuschner, a Socialist who had been Minister of the Interior for the State of Hesse, and who took employment as a salesman to carry on this activity.

The necessity of secrecy for a time encouraged diversity and cross-purposes in the anti-Nazi movement. The Communist organization, working in the Russian interest and, therefore, pro-Hitler when Stalin was in alliance with the Nazis, further confused the picture. Opposed to totalitarianism in principle, the liberal German Underground naturally had no desire to swap a German for a Russian dictatorship.

Gradually, however, two principal opposition groups emerged, the one centering around Dr. Karl Gördeler, the former Mayor of Leipzig, the other around young Hellmut von Moltke, of the same family as Bismarck's famous general. The Gördeler circle was mainly composed of former civil servants and Nazi-ousted officials with a relatively conservative outlook, such as Dr. Johannes Popitz, former Prussian Minister of Finance. The Moltke circle was less restricted, containing many members of the former Center and Social Democratic parties, trade-union leaders and leading figures in both the Catholic and Protestant churches, for instance, Pastor Dietrich Bonhöffer, of Berlin.

In 1937 and 1938, deterioration of the international situation hastened consolidation of hitherto divergent opposition groups. A united front of leaders, including clergymen and generals, Social Democrats and Conservatives, trade-unionists and business men, began to take shape. Its greatest obstacles were the vigilance and ruthlessness of the Gestapo; the complete Nazi control of press, radio and communications; the full employment provided by Hitler's war preparation program; and the Führer's well-advertised diplomatic achievements as facilitated by the appeasement policy.

III

During the early months of the war, when the German Communists under Russian orders were supporting Hitler, Dr. Gördeler became the tacitly accepted head of the entire anti-Nazi front. In 1936 he had resigned as Mayor of Leipzig in protest against the policy of anti-Semitism. After 1937 he was nominally employed as a promotion manager by the famous

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Bosch Company, manufacturers of magnetos and other electrical equipment.

Robert Bosch, head of this Stuttgart firm, had for many years worked valiantly for better Anglo-German and Anglo-French relations and was one of the few big industrialists who actively supported the Underground. Many of the Jewish emigrés now safely in this country were financed and otherwise enabled to escape persecution through the aid of Bosch. When Gördeler joined the firm it was understood that he would spend his time working against the Nazis and that subsidies from the Bosch and other companies would be used to develop resistance, in spite of the terrible risks involved.

Following the annexation of Austria, in March, 1938, Gördeler visited London to inform members of the Chamberlain Government that if they stood firm, in the Sudeten crisis, an important group of anti-Nazi generals would lead a rising against Hitler simultaneously with any overt military act attempted by the latter. Prominent in this group was General Ludwig Beck, then Chief of the General Staff, one of those who died after the events of July 20, 1944. The Anglo-French appeasement policy ruined this plan and after the Munich Pact, Beck resigned his key post in despair. With Hitler's bloodless victories the task of the German Underground became increasingly difficult, as well as dangerous. In the words of a memorandum by one of the surviving leaders:

> "The year 1938 brought Dr. Gördeler and his friends great disillusionment. Dr. Gördeler felt very dejected and declared that Chamberlain should never have been allowed to give in at Bad Godesberg. His friends in the army, especially Col. Gen. Beck, had definitely decided not to follow Hitler's orders to march into Czechoslovakia but to put the Führer out of the way. . . . In Stuttgart, however, it was agreed not to give in; to continue the work together with Gördeler and to support his people more than ever before."

IV

In August, 1939, Adam von Trott zu Solz, a former German Rhodes Scholar, was sent by the Underground to London, where he was received by Prime Minister Chamberlain and by Lord Halifax, then Foreign Secretary. Von Trott warned the English leaders that war would make the task of the anti-Nazi movement far more difficult and that it might be temporarily immobilized by patriotic sentiment. Nevertheless, immediately after the German invasion of Poland, von Trott carried through plans to visit the United States, where he stayed from September, 1939, to January, 1940, making contact with officials and influential private

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citizens in behalf of the German Underground.

Among those whom he saw in Washington was Felix Morley, also a former Rhodes Scholar, then editor of The Washington Post, later president of Haverford College and now editor of HUMAN EVENTS. Dr. Morley, who has assisted in the compilation of this material, contributes the following excerpt from his diary, under date of November 20, 1939:

> "Adam von Trott, who left Germany three weeks after the declaration of war, had tea with me yesterday and today I arranged lunch for him with [Eugene] Meyer [publisher of The Washington Post] and me at the office. He is over, as a Far Eastern expert, to attend the conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations at Virginia Beach, but is devoting most of his time to developing a receptive attitude here towards the big change which he thinks is coming in Germany. . . . It is a heroic work in which this noble and idealistic young German is engaged. It may very easily cost him his life and he knows that he is constantly under surveillance, though whether by F.B.I. men or agents of the Gestapo he is uncertain. The former would be quite natural and I trust that is all there is to it. . . . The chief problem is how to insure that a war of extermination against the Nazis will not force behind them all the elements beginning to cohere for Hitler's overthrow. And here von T. confirms my feeling that if a Danzig formula could have been found there would have been no further aggression -- because of the coalescing of anti-Hitler sentiment in Germany. Now it is far more difficult."

A part of von Trott's mission in Washington was to inform the Department of State of the aims and personalities of the Underground, through a secret memorandum which was also delivered to the British Ambassador, Lord Lothian. This memorandum stated the terms upon which the opposition hoped to terminate the war, after Hitler's overthrow, and included a pledge to prosecute the principal Nazi leaders for common crimes.

Von Trott's efforts were reinforced by other prominent refugees, including Dr. Heinrich Brüning, Catholic pre-Nazi German Chancellor, who visited the White House for this purpose in December, 1939. President Roosevelt at first showed interest in the appeal for support of the German Underground but soon, apparently on the advice of men close to him, discouraged further contacts. Von Trott was even denounced as a Nazi agent, which is bitterly ironical in view of the sequel. At grave personal risk, after returning to Germany, he continued subversive work and was hanged by the Nazis as a traitor for his part in the July, 1944, proceedings.

V

Although their numbers were decimated by arrests at home, and although they received little, if any, official encouragement from Washington and London, the leaders of the German

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Underground continued throughout the war in their efforts to overthrow the Nazi tyranny and build a peace holding some hope for the civilization common to all of Western Europe. Little or nothing in regard to these efforts has been divulged to the American public. Space permits only the briefest summarization here.

In the autumn of 1941, Ulrich von Hassel, former German Ambassador to Rome and a member of the inner circle of the anti-Nazi movement, requested a prominent American business man then in Berlin to convey a peace proposal to the White House in the names of Generals Beck and Hammerstein.

This proposal, made at a time when Germany seemed everywhere victorious, was along these lines: (1) Resignation, voluntary or enforced, of Hitler and all his government; (2) withdrawal of German armed forces to the borders of the Weimar Republic, excepting the Saar, Danzig and Austria; (3) settlement of the Polish Corridor issue along the lines suggested by Marshal Pilsudski of Poland (exchange of the Corridor for the four eastern districts of East Prussia); (4) no reparations to be asked by either side. The intermediary reached Washington December 1, but was unable to see President Roosevelt before December 7, when Pearl Harbor dashed all hopes.

In May, 1942, Pastor Dietrich Bonhöffer, later executed by the Nazis, and Dr. Hans Schönfeld, director of research for the Geneva office of the World Council of Churches, approached the English Bishop of Chichester in Stockholm in behalf of the German Underground. They reported on the widespread organization and enlightened aims of the anti-Nazi movement and pointed out that "it was extremely important to know whether the Allied attitude toward a Germany purged of Hitler would be different to the attitude towards a Germany under Hitler."

The Bishop personally conveyed this message to Anthony Eden, then British Foreign Secretary, on June 30, 1942. On July 17, he was told that after consideration it had been decided that no action could be taken. Continued affirmation of the Unconditional Surrender policy made further effort seem fruitless to many German liberals.

Nevertheless, local agents of the Underground were ordered, in the spring of 1943, to select reliable anti-Nazis who could take over administration when nation-wide revolt was launched. Many memoranda, some of which are now in this country, were written by eminent

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scholars, such as Professor Alfred Weber of Heidelberg, on the democratic reorganization of Germany. A few of these documents fell into Gestapo hands, which led to arrests and execution. Other resistance leaders were struck down blindly in the air raids. The survivors closed their ranks and carried on.

Emissaries were sent to Switzerland and Sweden -- von Trott was the most prominent in the latter country -- to contact British and American representatives. The contacts were made and sympathetically received at lower levels. But always, from White House and Whitehall, came the rebuff of "Unconditional Surrender". On this basis many German generals, not without patriotism and pride, could not persuade themselves to raise the standard of revolt.

By mid-summer of 1943, however, Gördeler had decided that the Underground, even though wholly unsupported abroad; even though weakened by increasing oppression and despair in Germany, must strike. In July, 1943, he wrote secretly to Field Marshal von Kluge:

> "It is more and more evident to what national disaster our leadership has brought us. I direct a last plea to you, Field Marshal General. The hour has come for a decision of our own personal fate. Our conscience directs us this dangerous way, but it is honorable and any other will lead to a bitter and terrible regret. . . . Continuation of the war is an outright crime, because for a people there is never an heroic end, but always a having to go on living."

In the spring of 1944, in spite of almost insuperable difficulties, the general plan of government to follow Hitler's assassination was completed. General Beck was named Provisional President of the projected German Republic, with Dr. Gördeler as Chancellor. The veteran Socialist Wilhelm Leuschner was selected as Vice Chancellor, with a special mandate to reconstitute the free trade-unions. Ambassador von Hassell was to be Foreign Minister and Dr. Julius Leber, a left-wing Socialist, Minister of the Interior. Marshal von Witzleben agreed to serve as Commander-in-Chief of the Army, even though his first duty would be to negotiate immediate surrender. Governors, all with anti-Nazi records, were chosen for the German states and mayors for the more important cities.

To secure the maximum of civilian support, Dr. Leber, on July 12, 1944, approached three Communist leaders to secure their cooperation. One of the three promptly revealed the plot to the Gestapo. Leber was arrested and a warrant issued for Gördeler. Thus, on July 20, the liberal Underground was forced to strike, though not yet fully prepared.

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VI

To what has been said of its failure, only a line about the fate of Gördeler need be added. For a few weeks, sheltered by friends, he escaped arrest, but then was captured in his native East Prussia. He was last seen, a prisoner of the Gestapo, in January, 1945, a physical wreck who had been repeatedly drugged in the attempt to make him betray his associates. Perhaps fortunately, most of his papers relating to the Underground were destroyed in a Berlin air raid before the Gestapo could locate them. But from the fragments which remain, the whole story will some day be reconstituted.

Those who went into Germany as the Nazi organization finally collapsed can best understand the heroism of Gördeler and those who vainly worked with him. It is a country of ruined cities, of crippled and broken men, of bewildered widows and orphans conscious only of "having to go on living". Against that picture, and against the equally terrible picture of totalitarian Germany in its heyday, the tenacious effort of the German Undergrcund seems almost a miracle and will live as a memorial to the ideals for which the war was fought. As von Moltke wrote, on the eve of his execution, "none of us is dying in vain".

Yet for some strange reason the epic of German liberal resistance has been suppressed. Its heroisms have not been told; its sacrifices remain unsung. We have been led to believe that, almost without exception, the German nation concurred in the crimes of its leaders. No evidence to the contrary has even been allowed to come from the Nuremberg trials, a serious psychological error since nothing would impress the German people more than to know the stories of their countrymen who sacrificed so much for them.

To withhold any part of this untold saga can only injure those who are denied the trut For without full understanding, in place of blind hate, neither Germany nor Europe as a whole can ever be rehabilitated. In Gördeler's life we gave him no assistance. Now we may at least remember the words he spoke ten years ago: "What Europe needs most is to reaffirm the concept of human decency."

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Alexander B. Maley was a Lieutenant Commander in Naval Intelligence. Assigned to the Seventh Army, he went into Germany with the line troops on a special mission, remaining the five months. He is now in business in Chicago.

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Not Merely Gossip *A Supplement to* Human Events Vol. III - No. 9

By Frank C. Hanighen February 27, 1946

Mutiny and riot broke out in India, and oratory flared in Whitehall as Socialist Premier Attlee, with unconscious irony, blamed it on "Left Wing elements", as well as on Communists. Now Communists do fish in all available troubled waters, but they are not to be found under every bed. The British Premier might have recalled that what happened last week was not the first mutiny against the British Raj. The Cambridge Shorter History says of the historic affair of 1857: "The (greased) cartridges provided merely the occasion of the mutiny. The real cause lay in popular discontents, reflected in the army."

In haste to castigate Communists, Attlee did not give sufficient weight to present "discontents", which have been rising towards a boiling point for some time. One important factor is a famine, characterized as one of the most serious in recent years. In face of this situation, the Labor Government is sending a Committee to New Delhi. Reginald Reynolds, a British writer on India, once remarked, "British socialists moved in a mysterious way their blunders to perform."

Commentators during the past week, perhaps in some cases not without wishful thinking, revived talk of the approaching end of the British Empire, in view of the troubles not only in India, but also in Egypt and Palestine. They apparently forgot that the close of the last war was marked by similar expressions of rising nationalism -- rebellion in Ireland, anti-British disturbances in India (vide the Amritsar massacre), Persia and Egypt. The structure of the British Empire, despite Cassandras and blunders, seems to survive such convulsions, possibly through mere inertia.

Elsewhere in Asia, another nationalism reacted strongly against another imperialism. Americans have short historical memories. They forget, but the Chinese do not, that the war started in Asia with the Japanese rape of Manchuria. They now discover that Roosevelt, at Yalta, gave away territory in Manchuria to Russia, and that today Russia is not carrying out her promise to evacuate that area; the richest in China. Bitter disappointment has resulted in student demonstrations against Russia and the Chinese Communists. Some of these probably were organized by the Government, but not all -- say observers who believe that most of the demonstrations are spontaneous and widespread.

The Communists are definitely on the spot in China. If they continue to play the Russian game, in this situation, they will lose many adherents, and friends, such as the Democratic League. But the Chinese animus is principally against Russia. The merger of the Nationalist and Communist armies, supervised in its paper stage by General Marshall, is a hopeful sign. But insiders point out that the Communist forces maintain their divisional organization, and that these divisions will be kept intact in districts where Communism is strong.

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Election day in Argentina, which brought 85 per cent of the registered voters to the polls, surprisingly proved to be one of the most peaceful days in Argentine history. Considering the virulence with which the press in the United States participated in the campaign, it would appear that the Argentines took the contest less emotionally than did the "Yanquis".

Indeed, one might well imagine that the Argentines wearied of the forensics and turned their radio dials to another much publicized topic which perhaps holds more promise of enduring satisfaction than electoral victory or defeat. This is the projected Trans-Andean tunnel, to connect Argentina and Chile and to be underwritten by the two republics. Shall they construct a single-track railroad tunnel through which autos would be transported by means of railroad flatcars? Or should they have a single-track

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railroad tunnel, and a double-lane highway tunnel in which vehicles would use their own power? No one, fortunately, has so far found a political angle in this discussion; any more than in the "Christ of the Andes", the famous statue of peace on the mountain frontier between Argentina and Chile, still standing in spite of Ambassador Spruille Braden.

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A new trend in Russian policy in Germany is appearing. The Russians have sought to give the impression that Russia favors a unified -- albeit "friendly" -- Germany. Colonel Tulpanov, at the opening of the trade-union conference, made a speech in which he referred to Berlin as "the heart and the capital of Germany"; and the German Communist Party now announces, "We fight for Germany's unity".

Concurrently another trend is developing; i.e., the sovietization of Eastern Germany. Under strong pressure, the Social Democratic Party is being forced unwillingly into a merger with the numerically weaker Communist Party. One Social Democratic leader said, "we are being tickled by Soviet bayonets". The conference at which the merger was accomplished was attended by uniformed Russian officers, but not by officers of the other occupying Powers. Social Democrats in the East bitterly complain that they have received no support from the West. One remarked, "American zeal for democratic liberties here seems to be outrun by the anxiety of their senior local representatives to ingratiate themselves with the Russians".

Even more severe pressure is exerted on the Christian Democratic Union. Provincial party meetings are broken up by Communist gangs. The Russians and German Communists jointly and successfully campaigned for the dismissal of the Christian Democratic leaders. The party paper was forced to print articles attacking them. One Western Allied observer says: "The power of the Christian Democratic Union has thus been broken by the Russians, but the implications of their policy and methods embrace more than the fate of one political party. The deposed leaders of the party are behaving with loyalty and dignity, but the average German may be tempted to see a certain resemblance between Soviet practices and those which the Allies are pledged to destroy in his own country."

The two policies -- Russian friendship for German unity and Russian-enforced sovietization -- are not necessarily incompatible. Many Germans might prefer a strong and unified Germany, even if Communist, to a weak and territorially divided Germany. The appearance of Field Marshal Von Paulus, of the notorious Free Germany Committee, called as a witness at the Nuremberg trials, may be an additional indication of Russian plans to build up a unified, Communist puppet German state.

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The press seems to have overlooked the importance of the results of the Congressional by-election (noted in NMG on February 13) in New York a week ago. Tammany won against the Communists, but the results are distinctly encouraging to the latter. The Democrats polled 17,360 votes, the American Labor Party (Communist backed) 13,421 and the Republicans 4,314. Tammany had predicted a 3 to 1 victory, yet actually only squeezed through with a minority vote. Communist and PAC tactics were effectively used; CIO union members were reportedly required to produce evidence for their shop stewards on returning to their jobs that they had voted -- a practice of the PAC in 1944.

The ALP has had an alliance with the Democratic Party, but broke it for the first time by contesting this election with a rival candidate. The ALP follows the Communist line and their combined success is expected to affect the complexion of the New York City delegation to the Federal House of Representatives next fall, as well as State elections. This is another sign of the decline of Democratic city machines and the rise of the PAC. Its import is not overlooked in the White House nor in the office of Mr. Robert Hannegan, national Democratic boss.

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MacArthur would resign at once if Washington allowed the Russians to occupy the northern island of Hokkaido, according to an important observer just back from Japan who offers the following comments: Russia has been sounding out Washington about such an occupation, but in Tokyo has merely asked to inspect facilities on Hokkaido. MacArthur believes Russian occupation of that part of Japan would destroy the whole structure of our Japanese occupation, and conditions would become similar to those in Germany.

The Japanese Communist Party is not an important factor. Its leaders have been absent too long from the homeland to understand the psychology of the people today and to sway them. The war criminal trials are an embarrassment to the American occupation authorities. They fear growing resentment among the Japanese people against trial and execution of some men whom they had been taught to regard as war heroes. Such a reaction, if continued, could seriously impair our policy. The hands of the American authorities are tied. They do not want the onus of granting clemency to war criminals; they would prefer to have Washington assume the responsibility. But Washington passes the buck to them. Accordingly, the occupation authorities find their only solution in restricting the number of the trials (there are only about 400 alleged war criminals) and in waiting until American public opinion becomes calmer on this subject.

MacArthur's GHQ is watching the Korean situation closely, and some dramatic move on our part is expected. MacArthur's policy of making no concessions to the Russians until they have reciprocated was well illustrated by the refusal to allow TASS (Russian news agency) men to enter the American zone, because American journalists are not allowed in the Russian zone of Korea.

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The New York Times is reportedly suffering from what some press observers diagnose as a "divided personality". Two groups in its hierarchy have opposing ideas as to the attitude which they think the Times should take on foreign policy, and the ebb and flow of their alternate influences as reflected in news policy and on the editorial page explains why that authoritative paper at times seems to have a true editorial psychosis. One faction, headed by Editor Edwin L. James, takes a view harmonious with British and critical of Russian policy; the other likes the way Byrnes conducts our affairs abroad, is cool towards British Foreign Minister Bevin and tolerant of the Soviet course. Above the battle, but presumably floating in a state of indecision, is Publisher Arthur H. Sulzberger.

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A former high officer in our Counter-Intelligence Service writes us in strong criticism of the selection of the UNO site in the Connecticut-New York area: "I have as yet read not one line of the controversy which deals with one aspect of the highest importance. Looking at the matter from the military point of view, the selection is a disgrace. Here will be an extra-territorial area of 42 square miles, housing some 15,000 foreigners within thirty miles of our most important strategic harbor, New York, and our most important dockyard, the Brooklyn Navy Yard; and only 30 miles from the machine-tool center of Bridgeport, which from an ordnance viewpoint is one of the half-dozen most important manufacturing cities in the country. Such a foreign enclave so located makes our counter-intelligence surveillance of its residents almost impossible in peace, not to mention war. Why the Army and Navy permitted this without protest is difficult to conceive; perhaps they did protest but were over-ruled. In any case, I consider the attitude and procedure of the Federal Government reprehensible and un-American. It should have offered UNO certain specified sites. It should not have turned UNO loose to choose what the latter desired."

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NOTES AND QUOTES

"We believe that the dissenting opinions filed by Mr. Justice Rutledge in these cases show plainly that Yamashita and Homma did not have fair trials; we can indeed go farther and say that the directives issued by military tribunals made it impossible that they should have had fair trials," says an editorial, February 17, in The Washington Post, which points out that the prosecution was not even required to prove that Yamashita had any knowledge of the crimes of which he was to be convicted. "Again, the directive stated that the mere fact that General Homma was a member of an organization (in this case the Japanese army which included persons previously found guilty en masse) should be accepted as prima facie evidence of his own guilt. . . . No more was necessary than to establish General Homma was a member of the Imperial Japanese Army at the time of the alleged crimes." This editorial has caused much comment among Washington observers who wonder if the point it makes about General Homma's trial is not applicable to some of the procedure in Germany.

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Admiral McIntire, President Roosevelt's physician, who made such glowing reports on the President's health (especially during the 1944 political campaign), is still sticking to his story. Thus, in Collier's (February 4), he refers to the President's "rest" in Carolina in the spring of 1944 and says, "By the time of his return to Washington, he was in fine trim again, although too low in weight for my liking."

But the Admiral's opinion is challenged in Harry Butcher's "My Three Years With Eisenhower", in the Saturday Evening Post (January 19). Just at the time when the President was allegedly in "fine trim", Secretary of State Stettinius visited him on the eve of the latter's trip to London. The Butcher diary has this pertinent entry: "Friday, April 14, 1944. Ed Stettinius told me the President was far from well and is increasingly difficult to deal with because he changes his mind so often." And a few days later, the diary has an entry, April 17, about General Wedemeyer who reported how badly the President looked.

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The untimely death last week of Raymond Leslie Buell is a truly national loss. The value of Dr. Buell's work as historian, economist and authority on colonial government is attested by his permanently important books. But he was never content to be merely a scholar. The Foreign Policy Association still profits, perhaps unduly, from the authority given it by Dr. Buell in his long service, first as research director and then as president of the organization. Dr. Buell had the intelligent man's distaste for meaningless classifications. Both "isolationists" and "interventionists" frequently felt the sting of his analysis. Around the work of such independent thinkers, if they were not so rare, could be built a foreign policy far more satisfactory to the nation than that which causes so much misapprehension today.

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"'Europe has suffered too much' said George Santayana recently. Those simple and eloquent words touch the reality of our present condition more nearly than pages of elaborate analysis. It is well to remember them. When we are bewildered by brutalities and dismayed by stupidities, and the behaviour of nations is almost beyond belief, let alone rational justification, to say to ourselves: 'Europe has suffered too much', brings real relief. . . . What happens when a man has suffered 'too much'? We may not be able to analyze the phrase; but for all that, in spite of its pathos, it is comforting. It arouses a kind of sympathy with actions which seemed to us intolerable before. It brings us into community with diverse and mutually hostile manifestations of the tormented human spirit, and brings them (in the world of imagination anyhow) into community with one another." -- J. Middleton Murry.

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